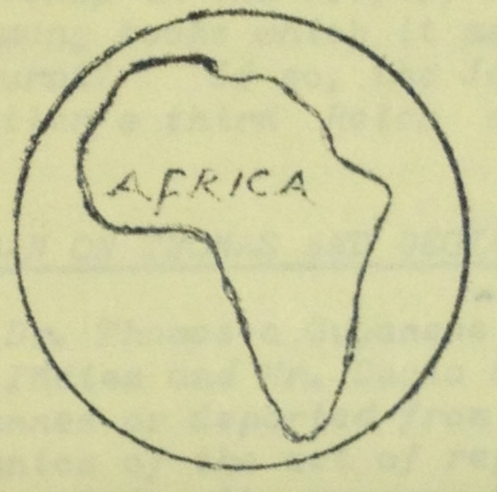
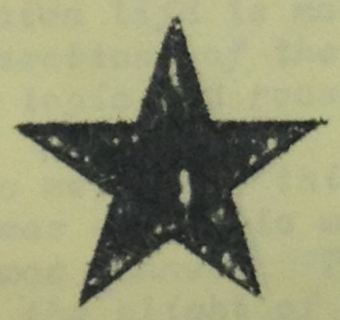
THE BLACK MAN

THE OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE AFRICAN NATIONALIST UNION



ONE GOD! ONE AIM! ONE DESTINY!



A RACE WITHOUT AUTHORITY AND POWER IS A RACE WITHOUT RESPECT.
....MARCUS GARVEY.

REMEMBER YOUR COLOUR AND CLEAVE TO THE BLACK.
.....PAUL BOGLE.

PRICE 10 Cents

Volume I No. 2

MWALIMU MARCUS GARVEY SPEAKS:-

The banning of Black Power literature by the Jamaican Government is one of the most stupid acts that have ever been effected by executive decree in recent times in any black country in the world.

I had a close acquaintance with this particular piece of madness when I returned from the U.S.A. on the 3rd September. A security officer was summoned by the customs man who checked my baggage because he saw in my hand that horrible and dangerous bit of literature - the autobiography of Malcolm X. The book was taken from me.

Two questions spring immediately to mind. First, what could possibly be subversive about a book which is sold openly by almost every major book-shop in the U.S.A., second, what does this Government do with the many books which it seizes from decent citizens every day? Are they burnt? If so, the Jamaican Government is in good company - Adolf Hitler's third Reich also banned and burnt books.

THE BAN ON THOMAS AND DEGIA

Recently, Dr. Thomas a Guyanese lecturer at the University of the West Indies and Mr. Degia a Barbadian teacher resident in this country were banned or deported from Jamaica. Let us not quibble about the mechanics of the act of repression. It is immaterial whether the Government explains the reasons for the ban or refuses to do so on vague grounds of national interest. The fact is that regimes have always been able to cook up some form of explanation to justify their acts however bizarre the explanation might appear to the logical mind. In Jamaica life is made even easier for the big boys in power since large sections of the population seem to have a congenital antipathy for logic and reason.

It is clear to me, and I think to anyone else who has a mind of his own that Thomas and Degia were banned for the same reason that Walter Rodney was banned. These conscious African brothers were concerned at the plight of the African community in Jamaica and realised that black power was the real solution to our black problems here. They openly expressed this view. They associated with and helped Jamaican Africans who had come to the same conclusion. For this opposition to the white and yellow power structure they were banned by the agents of alien capitalist exploitation.

VIGILANTES

What legal justification is there for the activities of the white men and the yellow men who go around at night playing the role of assistant policemen?

What is going to happen when trigger-happy palefaces gun down black people using the pretext that they are vigilantes?

And who the hell are they protecting anyway?

Recently some friends of mine were stopped on Hope Road by a member of these vigilantes who were armed to the teeth. Like true Africans they did not cower before the alien oppressor but made them aware that they understood their legal and constitutional rights. After a lot of bluff and bravade they were allowed to go. An ugly incident could easily have occurred. Let us have an end to this damn nonsense. The functions of the police must not be usurped by a group of people who could easily be mistaken for the KLU KLUX KLAN.

THE BYE-ELECTION IN ST. ANDREW

The recent election gymnastics showed above all that interest in traditional two party politics has reached a new low. The reasons are obvious. The young people of the country are disenchanted with a system which has only been able to ensure that black people must work for alien masters. The racial minority groups are in full control of the economy of the country and the politicians on both sides are happy as larks with this wonderful achievement of multiracialism. The politicians are living well because they serve the masters faithfully. The people realise that there will not be a change until new black institutions are evolved which under black leadership will struggle relentlessly for black power. It is only the third force that can create the new order.

TRIPS TO AFRICA

The two top politicians in the country are both gone to Africa to get an African image. It is interesting to note that although the Prime Minister had a number of white men with him for the trip to Europe, an all black delegation has been used for the African safari. Very smart move indeed. How necessary it is to let our African brothers believe that there is real black in Jamaica?

Jamaican Africans are hoping that out of this sight seeing trip will come something of real worth for the black man. We need African embassies here. We need the matter of repatriation to be dealt with at government to government level. By the way what has happened to the report of the back to Africa mission of 1961. Let us have less talk about birth control and more talk about the return of the Jamaican African to the land of his fathers.

THE FIFTY CENT NOTE

The fact that the features of my dear father, the African Nationalist Marcus Garvey, now adorns one of Jamaica's new currency notes does not stimulate me as it should. What is necessary today is not that Garvey's features should become familiar to the masses of this country, but that those masses should hear and understand Garveyism - the original form of Black Power.

Will the true facts about Garvey ever be taught here? Will his philosophy ever be brought to the masses? I think not. For both sides of the political fence in this country know only too well that Marcus Garvey never preached out of many one people, he only had time for black power.

Sons and daughters of Africa in Jamaica - love one another, help one another, hold firm. Our day must come for the youth are on our side.

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THE BRITISH SCENE BY ANDREW SALKEY

The three black communities of Africans, Asians, and West Indians - in positive, concrete terms, one black community - have been isolated and deliberately marked for continuing attack by the overwhelming majority of a traditionally racist British society. We have been singled out, identified and driven into a position of public humiliation, social and political sacrifice, and obvious physical danger (there's a growing list of assaults, grievous bodily harm, and murder, in London and the provinces.)

My statement to our community has little to do with the social and cultural crisis in our lives in this country; it has much more to do with a brazen political reality: a fascist, racist reality: one in which our community is isolated and at the dead centre of the focus of that crushing reality.

We must, no longer, clutch on to the false and deluding definitions of Enoch Powell's intentions, which some of our very own workers, students, and others have borrowed from the irresponsible analysis of liberals outside. Our community is alarmingly isolated. It is abjectly alone. It is cruelly encircled by vast forces of hostility, racial hatred, and panic. It is being constantly harrassed. It is under attack. We must learn to forget the easy intellectual reasons given, all around us, for the diseased appearance of Powell on the British political scene. Let me recite a mere handful of these sitting-room reasons which we're being asked to swallow whole - asked not only by the smiling exponents of the British liberal tradition but also by the enlightened comedians among our own membership, in the High Commissions, in the undergraduate and graduate population and in the floating minority of visitors from the West Indies in London.

One such reason is this: 'that Powell represents the nostalgia of the British people for Empire!' Such a notion will only lull our community into a deep political sleep.

Another: 'that Powell and contemporary Britain are in search of a symbol, Powellism, of the revitalization of a former grandeur!' That is simply not so, and we must not accept it. If is an elegant lie, and one that utterly conceals the essential nastiness of the real disease.

'The new racism is a gathering rebellion against us, our community, our home countries, their representatives, and the manumitted neo-colonials at the metropolitan centre!' Near enough to the truth of the situation; but even then, it is the sort of soft-edged statement which we must examine closely and pepper with our own community political self-interestedness.

Then, there's another slice of the truth: 'Powell and the British are fighting to maintain the idea and practice of Anglo-Saxon privilege and racial pride, through a veiled programme of racist contempt for the black people in British society and throughout the world!'

Cont/...

This we must take absolutely seriously. And when we are thinking about it and opening it up to our own community-interpretation, let us, also, bear in mind that whatever is said to the contrary, Powell is being strategically assisted, patted into shape and promoted by the established power order and its sneaking policies: in other words, the Labour government is the real, identifiable enemy of our community.

We should remember that the Labour government is the very same cynical band, the very same hypocritical clique, which continues to seek to liquidate the energy and will of the trades unions (our workers will testify to that piece of slaughter); we must remember that the very same band of British socialists is perpetuating all the capatalistic strangeleholds in its domestic economics and in its foreign policy; and it must be clear that the present government, which is nothing else but Powell's government in practice, in power and hardly in opposition, is a government which is hell-bent on keeping alive the twin cancer of class antagonism and racism.

If we do know where we are in this mess of wilful contradictions and in this native British tissue of lies, we should know, too, that <u>we</u> *belong together, now, more than we have ever been as a community.*

We will have to sink our sectional political differences; we will have to scrap our several 'back-home' provincial interests; we will have to dismantle the cheap cult of personality and personal profit within our community; we will have to come out of ourselves, out of our fragmented groupings, out of our pathetically selfish concerns for individual advance, and take up a radical community political position in a dynamic unity; we will have to look, again, at Asia, Africa, Latin America and the West Indies more politically intelligently; and we must take it for granted that when we look at Powell we see Wilson and the will of the British people, and when we look at ourselves we see a revolutionary force which they will have to reckon with, rather than with a mish-mash of men and women scurrying away, selfishly, into hiding, or running after a wage packet, or after a doubtful University degree.

The prospect is disheartening. Our community is not strong enough at the moment. The pressures, abuse and inflictions are more than enough to cause us to come together as a revolutionary whole. We desperately need one another. We are isolated. We are tragic targets in an overtly racist society. We owe ourselves a vigorous, political revolutionary community. We cannot, any longer, afford the waste and nihilism of fragmentation. We belong together in our state of terrifying isolation and despair. Powell and Wilson have got together. What are we waiting for?

MARCUS GARVEY SNR

RADICALISM

"Radical" is a label that is always applied to people who are endeavouring to get freedom.

Jesus Christ was the greatest radical the world ever saw. He came and saw a world of sin and his program was to inspire it with spiritual feeling. He was therefore a riadical.

George Washington was dubbed a radical when he took up his sword to fight his way to liberty in America one hundred and forty years ago.

All men who call themselves reformers are perforce radicals. They cannot be anything else because they are revolting against the conditions that exist.

Conditions as they exist reveal a conservative state, and if you desire to change these conditions you must be a radical.

I am, therefore, satisfied to be the same kind of radical, if through radicalism I can free Africa.

Philosophy and Opinions p.18 Vo.I

"NO IMAGES"

She does not know
Her beauty,
She thinks her brown body
Has no glory.

If she could dance
Naked,
Under palm trees
And see her image in the river
She would know.

But there are no palm trees
On the street,
And dishwater gives back
no images

- Waring Cuney

IMPRESSIONS OF THE U. S. A. - Marcus Garvey Junior

When I reached John F. Kennedy Airport I was surprised to find myself ushered through the Customs without the customary examination while the other passengers on the plane had to have their baggage sifted. The attitude of the immigration inspector was courteous and entirely different from the nigger who took my passport with a surly scowl when I returned to Jamaica a month later. Incidentally this nigger was full of smiles and courtesies as he dealt with the white man who followed me.

New York, on seeing it after some time, gives me the impression of unceasing bustle , speed and efficiency. A closer look shows that this is not entirely so. I soon found out that the telephones sometimes do not work in New York, the drains and sewers are blocked in heavy rain, and one sometimes has to wait for inefficient public transport.

BLACK PRIDE

As I moved about the city during the first few days of my visit, I never ceased to admire the Afro hair styles of the black women. What pride in their African ancestry? So different from the Jamaican women with their hair burnt in imitation of white and yellow aliens. But what can you expect from a people who have been indoctrinated to think that African hair is bad while the straight, lank straw of the Caucasian or Mongolian is good. The styles of Africa were worn with pride and aplomb. Truth is my head was turned time and again during my first week.

THE BLACK STRUGGLE

I lost no time in grounding with the black brothers and sisters. We discussed so many aspects of black power and the black struggle. It was as easy to identify with American Africans as I had found it in London to identify with Africans from the great continent. Truly we Africans are one great race and one great people under God. As we spoke I realised that there were different ideas of what the objectives of the black struggle should be. Briefly there was the integrationist concept; the culturalist expression; the back to Africa movement; the Republic of New Africa movement; and the revolutionaries. Let us have a look at each of these in turn.

DIFFERENT POINTS OF VIEW

The concept of integration is based on the hope that the black people if they dress neatly behave themselves, and pray regularly will some day be accepted by the white majority as no different from themselves. When this glorious day comes there will be no segregation or defferentiation between races. Intermarriage will ensure that the black race disappears and the mass of blacks who never wanted to be black in the first place will be integrated into the white race. The white Americans are supposed to accept the fact that they will become a darker shade of pale with complacency.

in

VIEW POINTS OF THE AMERICAN AFRICAN

For hundreds of years, white Christians have taught black people to love their neighbours; to be meek, humble and obedient; to love their white God; above all - to be non-violent, to turn the other cheek. But this is only one other instance of white double-standards, of white double-dealing. To the white man, Christianity has taught only POWER - white military, economic and political power. White Christians have burned and bombed our black churches. White Christians have enslaved and killed over one hundred millions of our black brothers and sisters; hundreds of millions of our Chinese brothers; millions of Vietnamese (remember the American Cardinal Spellman); the entire race of American Indians. "Onward Christian Soldiers", sing these preachers of peace and non-violence; onward to the conquest and exploitation of another continent.

While preaching "blessed are the poor" white Christians have practiced economic exploitation on an international scale. The Catholic Church has been a dominant economic power in Europe for 2000 years; today it controls the economy of Italy. Catholic families control the economic and political destiny of 240,000,000 South Americans. In the United States, the yearly revenues from the Protestant Churches alone (3.6 billion dollars) is more than three times the yearly profits of General Motors, the world's biggest corporation. (The Catholics are too spiritual to list their number of billions.) The churches control large business operations, over 100 billion dollars in real estate, schools, universities and hospitals. The church disrupted by James Forman in New York was built up with over 30 million dollars of Rockefeller money. The liberated administration files at Columbia showed the connection between this church and Rockefeller interests in a plan to "sterilize" the area surrounding Columbia University. Certain "elements" (low income black and Puerto Rican families) were to be moved out, and others (white middle-class employees of Columbia) moved in. Churchmen were on the board of this urban removal project to ensure that the blacks and Puerto Rican were impartially exploited, and in the name of Jesus Christ himself, the Most High.

Today we say that this double-standard, this double-dealing must end; that this criminal doctrine of loving one's exploiter and obedience to one's murderer is a crime. What is good for the goose, is good for the gander. What is good for the white Christian is good for the non-white. We are saying that when a white Christian strikes a non-white, the non-white should pick up his gun. We are tired of a religion in which the greatest black Christians are martyrs and saints, the greatest white Christians the imperialist conquistadors and administrators who put them to death. Instead of "onward Christian soldiers" we are saying "Onward Freedom Fighters", onward to the liberation of Asia, Africa, America, Australia and Europe.

Instead of red power, black power, brown power, and yellow power to white Christians, we are saying black power to black people, brown power to brown people, yellow power to yellow people, and red power to red people. And this means political, economic and military power.

We want political power not tokens. But what is political power? What is black political power? Huey P. Newton said that power is the ability to define phenamena and make them act in a desired manner. But what does this mean in our black everyday lives? How does the white power structure define the phenomena of our black lives? As brother Eldridge Cleaver says, by a legal lynching system. In the Southern United States, 80% of black people who are murdered are shot in the back. Shot down ... Shot down in the back ... Lynching ... Legal lynching system. That is, guns define power. "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun". "Anyone who desires freedom must be willing to die for it." Malcolm X said this before his death. Today, we the living have taken up his battle cry.

"THE RELEVANCE OF BLACK REVOLUTIONARY STUDIES"

In the search for educational relevance, black today is revolutionary and nationalistic. A Black-studies programme which is not revolutionary and nationalistic is, accordinlgly, quite profoundly irrelevant. The Black Revolutionary nationalist, aware and proud of his blackness, demands the right to exist as a distinct category, to be elevated as such by any means necessary. The Negro contrarily, would just as soon be white. He longs to escape his blackness and, in the search for integration achieves disintegration.

Thus, the key to the difference between a black-studies programme is a black perspective. Black students are descendants of a people cut off from their attachment to land, culture and nation (or peoplehood). This condition is aggravated further by a white-wash education. The expressive phrase of the black-studies programme is designed to regenerate the mortified ego of the black child. For instance, a proud black history can restore and construct a sense of pastness, of collective destiny, as a springboard to the quest for a new collective future. For black children crippled by defeatist attitudes, hardened by generations of exclusion, this is potentially therapeutic."

NATHAN HARE; SF STATE.

THE UNIVERSALITY OF THE BLACK STRUGGLE by OMAR SHABBAZ

In a recent issue of Saturday Review, a U.S.A. publication, an article on Jamaica informed our North American friends that "On an island composed of 78% black, and 15% part-black, they find it hard to identify with black (minorities) abroad - this despite the reverence many feel for Marcus Garvey." If, however, the statement is true, then we have become traitors to what Garvey stood for, and in honouring Marcus Garvey we must talk about the struggle of black people not only in Jamaica but in the world today, and how we can become part of that struggle. It is very important, therefore, that all white imposed barriers be destroyed, so that we can start communicating with each other on all levels, across artificial barriers. It is very necessary, at this crucial moment, for us to share our insights, our indignations and our experiences, experiences paid for in most cases by blood, and perhaps we can save some blood.

A REVOLUTIONARY SPIRIT OF ONENESS

Garvey made it plain that the struggle would have to be international, to him we were all citizens of the same country; the country of the humiliated, the country of the disadvantaged, the country of the disinherited, the country Fanon referred to as the 'Country of the Wretched of the Earth'. He emphasised at all times that we are all members of each other; no matter what our national origins, the struggle against Apartheid, Segregation, Colonialism and neo-colonialism, the struggle against all the modern forms of slavery is one and the same, and we should pursue that struggle in a revolutionary spirit of oneness.

DISTORTED BLACK IMAGE DEBASING

Our history in the West has been a cruel and bloody one, and black people has been made by force and through psychological propoganda to feel ashamed of themselves. We must recognise that for some four hundred years the so-called slave masters have manipulated and distorted the black image, creating inhibited self images in the minds of black people, and we must realize that not only have we been lynched with ropes and chains but we have also been lynched with words and pictures, symbols and images.

We witness today the dilemma of Africans who were taken to the West as slaves and made into "negroes". The black man in the West not only lost faith in himself and his fellowman, but actually became ashamed of himself and worst of all hated himself, thereby losing his key to human dignity. For this reason the cultural aspect of our struggle is very important and we must alert ourselves to the oppressor's use of bugus legislation and hypocritical rhetoric. We must alert ourselves to the spurious attempts made by greedy people to subvert, capture and "cash in" on the Black Cultural Revolution - i.e. from White firms manufacturing Afro or Natural Wigs, Dashikis, etc. to the many "William Styrons" messing around black heroes like Nat Turner, Roger Mais, Garvey etc., writing cheap, nasty books, belittling the black man's revolts against slavery, distorting not only the lives of our black heroes but moreso the hostory of black people in order to ensure our psychological and physical captivity in Babylon.

Garvey like Bogle, Carmichael, Malcolm X, saw the need for Africans in the West to go back home spiritually, culturally and emotionally, and he sought to secure for them a path on which they could attempt to search for and develop an identity with Mother Africa.

BLACK HEROES AND SYMBOLS

Our enemies are trying to move black people away from their goal of a Black Cultural Nationalism, and they do this not only by denying us heroes but also by forcing us to look negatively at our past. As Frantz Fanon remarked "An Educational system is merely the inculcation and the re-establishing of the given values and institutions of a given society. Fanon was pointing to the fact that our educational systems was a direct carbon copy of that found in Europe, and therefore was designed to deal with the problems of our White Imperialist Slave masters (even today our Engineers are being taught to design: roads to withstand frost action; chimneys, fireplaces, Northern-light roof truss to capture naximum sunlight in dark, foggy winter months. Our Doctors are versed in the treatment of chilblains (skin disease confined to cold climates). Our Artists and so-called intellectuals were fed with excess dosages of Shakespeare, Dawkins, Penn, Venables, etc. while the names of Chaka, Garvey, Bogle etc. were laughed at.

Young blacks in the act of defining for themselves are creating their own Black Heroic Images, to them it is ludicrous and utterly revolting that a committee had to be set up (and probably by a split decision) Garvey made into a "National Hero". Garvey is International. Jamaica rejected him, he was hounded night and day by cruel vicious mad dogs, and when one takes into consideration the forces that were set in motion against him his accomplishments will remain the phenomenon of all times.

The attack on the evils of our society must be undertaken by every man. One of the luxuries we cannot afford is the luxury of division and petty strive; the luxury of people fighting each other within our ranks for petty and personal things. We must forget this nonsense about the black upper class, the black middle class and all that nonsense about degrees, status and possessions. We must learn to say what Eugene Debs said "As long as there is a lower class, I am in it". It is time to say that as long as society forces black people to rebel in whatever way they decide is necessary, I stand with them, and as long as there is one black brother in jail because of the colour of his skin, I am not and I cannot be free.

Today a large section of our youth are engaged in meaningless and suicidal state of warfare, and as long as our society refuses to provide an avenue through which the utterly deprived portion of black people can realize a sense of personal dignity and social worth in terms of the humanity of man, this madness; this nonsense may never end.

MARCUS GARVEY SNR.

NEGROES STATUS

Within modern times the Negro race has not had any real statesmen, and the masses of our people have always accepted the intentions and actions of the statesmen and leaders of other races as being directed in our interest as a group in conjunction with the interests of others. Such a feeling on our part caused us to believe that the constitution of theUnited States was written for Negroes, as well as the constitutions of England, France, Italy, Germany and other countries where Negroes happen to have their present domicil, either as citizens or as subjects.

That we suffer so much today under whatsoever flag we live is proof positive that constitutions and laws, when framed by the early advocates of human liberty, never included and were never intended for us as a people. It is only a question of sheer accident that we happnen to be fellow citizens today with the descendants of those who, through their advocacy, laid the foundation for human rights.

So this brings us to the point where as a people, we can expect very little from the efforts of present day statesmen of other races, in that their plans, (as far as advantages to be derived therefrom are concerned) are laid only in the interests of their people and not in the interest of Negroes; hence it is imperative that Negroes as a people evolve just at this time a statesmanship sufficiently able to cope with the designs and movements that are being made that will (except we prevent it) ultimately mean our doom and destruction.

Philosophy and Opinions p.47 Vol.I

HERITAGE

What is Africa to me:
Copper sun or scarlet sea,
Jungle star or jungle track,
Strong bronzed men, or regal black
Women from whose loins I sprang;
When the birds of Eden sang?
One three centuries removed
From the scenes his fathers loved,
Spicy grove, cinnamon tree,
What is Africa to me?

COUNTEE CULLEN